

## Message Text

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SAM-01 MC-02 /070 W

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R 101742Z SEP 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1745

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 15245

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO, GW

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR ROBERT STRAUZ-HUPE'S VISIT TO  
BONN: SUBSTANTIVE DISCUSSIONS

BEGIN SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR ROBERT STRAUZ-HUPE VISITED  
BONN FROM SEPTEMBER 6-9, PRIMARILY FOR THE PURPOSE OF  
DISCUSSING NATO AND RELATED DEFENSE PROBLEMS WITH YOUTH  
LEADERS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC (SEPTEL - NOTAL). HE  
TOOK THE OCCASION TO CALL ON THE POLITICAL DIRECTOR OF  
THE FOREIGN OFFICE (GUENTHER VAN WELL) AND STATE  
SECRETARY DR. MANN IN THE FEDERAL MINISTRY OF DEFENSE  
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(FMOD). DURING THEIR FOREIGN OFFICE DISCUSSIONS,

AMBASSADOR STRAUZS-HUPE AND THE FRG POLITICAL DIRECTOR MADE A TOUR D'HORIZON OF NATO PROBLEMS WITH EMPHASIS ON THE NAC. AMBASSADOR STRAUZS-HUPE'S DISCUSSIONS WITH STATE SECRETARY DR. MANN CONCENTRATED ON THE MAJOR TOPICS OF AWACS AND NATO RATIONALIZATION/STANDARDIZATION WITH PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON THE TANK PROBLEM. END SUMMARY.

VAN WELL DISCUSSIONS

1. THE DISCUSSIONS WITH POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL WERE UNUSUALLY WIDE-RANGING; A SEPARATE MEMCON IS BEING PREPARED. ONE OF THE MAJOR TOPICS OF DISCUSSION WAS THE PROBLEM POSED BY FRENCH VIEWS AS TO THE SCOPE OF THE NAC CONSULTATIONS. MR. VAN WELL SAID THAT THE FRG'S VIEW WAS THAT NAC MEETINGS WITH EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS SHOULD BE DEALT WITH IN A ROUTINE MANNER. WHETHER ONE

COUNTRY SENDS EXPERTS FROM ITS CAPITAL OR CHOOSES NOT TO DO SO IS ITS OWN BUSINESS. WE MUST IMPROVE THE INTENSITY OF OUR CONSULTATIONS IN NATO, BUT WITHOUT PUTTING THE FRENCH IN A CORNER. AMBASSADOR STRAUZS-HUPE SAID THAT THIS WAS VERY MUCH THE WAY IN WHICH THE U.S. VIEWED THE MATTER.

2. MR. VAN WELL STATED THAT DISCUSSIONS WITHIN THE EC-NINE DO NOT IMPINGE ON NATO DISCUSSIONS. POLITICAL CONSULTATION WITHIN NATO TRIES TO HARMONIZE THE VIEWS OF ITS MEMBERS, BUT IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY SEEK TO ACHIEVE A COMMON POLITICAL POSITION AS DOES THE EC-NINE.

3. AMBASSADOR STRAUZS-HUPE ASKED WHAT SUBJECTS THE FRG MIGHT WISH TO RAISE IN THE NAC. MR. VAN WELL STATED THAT RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN BERLIN WOULD BE A POSSIBLE TOPIC. DR. DANNENBRING, MR. VAN WELL'S COUNTRY DIRECTOR FOR NATO AFFAIRS, SUGGESTED THAT THE U.S. AND THE FRG MIGHT BRING UP THE SUBJECT OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO PORTUGAL.

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INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

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4. AMBASSADOR STRAUZS-HUPE STATED THAT A COLLEAGUE HAD NOTED THAT IT WAS THE U.S. WHICH HAD TAKEN THE INITIATIVE FOR CALLING NAC MEETINGS WITH PARTICIPATION BY EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS. THE COLLEAGUE HAD SUGGESTED THAT THE OTHER ALLIES SHOULD ALSO DO SO. THE U.S. WOULD WELCOME SUCH INITIATIVES. MR. VAN WELL NOTED THAT SEVERAL POSSIBLE TOPICS (E.G., CSCE) WOULD MORE PROPERLY BE BROUGHT UP BY THE NETHERLANDS RATHER THAN THE FRG IN THE FORMER'S CAPACITY AS CURRENT PRESIDENT OF THE EC-  
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NINE. AMBASSADOR STRAUZS-HUPE EMPHASIZED THESE REMARKS HAD BEEN PURELY HYPOTHETICAL SINCE HE HAD THUS FAR

RECEIVED NO INSTRUCTIONS FROM WASHINGTON ON THIS SUBJECT.

5. AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT NATO WAS IN GOOD SHAPE COMPARED WITH ITS CONDITION A FEW YEARS AGO. WHEN ONE CONSIDERS THE CRISES WHICH HAD THEN CONFRONTED NATO -- FOR EXAMPLE, THE YOM-KIPPUR WAR, THE OIL CRISIS -- THE SPIRIT OF THE ALLIANCE WAS NOW MUCH IMPROVED. MR. VAN WELL AGREED THAT NATO HAD GONE THROUGH THE LAST TWO YEARS VERY WELL. THERE HAD BEEN NO EUPHORIA OVER THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE AGREEMENT. AS FAR AS THE FRG WAS CONCERNED, IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT THE BUNDESTAG PASSED THE GERMAN DEFENSE BUDGET WITHOUT ANY VOTES IN OPPOSITION.

6. MR. VAN WELL TURNED TO THE RATIONALIZATION AND STANDARDIZATION EFFORT, EMPHASIZING THE FRG'S BELIEF IN THEIR GREAT IMPORTANCE. AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE ASKED MR. VAN WELL ABOUT THE LIKELY OUTCOME OF THE EPG DELIBERATIONS. TO THIS MR. VAN WELL REPLIED THAT THE EPG WAS IN FACT A PREREQUISITE FOR A HEALTHIER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S. AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE SAID THAT THE U.S. WELCOMED THE FORMATION OF THE EPG AND ANTICIPATED CLOSE EUROPEAN-U.S. COLLABORATIONS. TURNING TO THE MOU ON THE TANK, MR. VAN WELL STATED THAT THIS MUST NOT FALL FLAT. ITS FAILURE WOULD BE A TERRIBLE SETBACK FOR THE ALLIANCE; ITS SUCCESS WILL BE A GREAT PLUS FOR THE ALLIANCE.

7. MR. VAN WELL STATED THAT A BETTER PUBLIC RELATIONS EFFORT COULD BE OF GREAT ASSISTANCE TO NATO. SOMEHOW THE ALLIANCE HAS LOST TOUCH WITH ITS WIDER PUBLIC: YOUTH AND LABOR ABOVE ALL. THE WESTERN PUBLIC DOES NOT SAY THAT NATO IS BAD, BUT THE PUBLIC DOESN'T KNOW WHAT NATO IS. WE NEED TO TOUCH THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF OUR PEOPLE SO THEY UNDERSTAND. DR. DANNENBRING RECALLED THAT THIS POINT WAS MADE IN THE DPC AND IN THE NATO MINISTERIALS. AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE NOTED THAT MINISTER LEBER HAD EXPRESSED HIS INTEREST IN THIS PROBLEM. MR. VAN WELL CLOSED THIS PART OF THE DIS-

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CUSSION BY SUGGESTING THAT IT MIGHT BE DESIRABLE FOR THE PRESS AND INFORMATION SECTIONS OF OUR GOVERNMENTS TO GET TOGETHER ON THIS SUBJECT.

DR. MANN DISCUSSIONS

8. IN HIS DISCUSSION WITH AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE, STATE SECRETARY DR. MANN MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE FRG POSITION ON AWACS IS IN A HOLDING PATTERN UNTIL AFTER

THE OCTOBER 3 GENERAL ELECTIONS. HE REVIEWED THE BASIC FRG POSITION CONCERNING AWACS. HIS COUNTRY IS INTERESTED IN PRINCIPLE IN THIS WEAPONS SYSTEM. AT THE SAME TIME, IT FEELS STRONGLY THAT AWACS MUST BE TRULY A NATO SYSTEM AND NOT JUST ONE IN WHICH TWO OR THREE NATO MEMBERS PARTICIPATE. IN THIS CONNECTION, DR. MANN NOTED THAT THE MILITARY COMMITTEE OF THE BUNDESTAG MUST APPROVE ANY FRG PARTICIPATION IN AWACS.

9. DR. MANN WENT ON TO NOTE THE PROBLEM POSED BY THE FACT THAT AWACS IS NOT IN CURRENT FRG DEFENSE PLANS. IN ORDER TO GAIN PARLIAMENTARY APPROVAL TO MAKE AWACS PART OF THE FRG DEFENSE PLANNING, THE FMOD MUST REVIEW ITS PRIORITIES AND DETERMINE WHICH PROJECTS SHOULD BE ELIMINATED, REDUCED OR POSTPONED TO MAKE ROOM FOR AWACS. THIS INTERNAL PROCESS HAS NOT YET BEEN COMPLETED. IN ORDER TO DO SO, THE FMOD REQUIRES ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FROM THE U.S. AND FROM ITS OTHER ALLIES.

10. DR. MANN NOTED THAT A NEW GERMAN PARLIAMENT WITH NEW COMMITTEES WILL BE MEETING AT THE BEGINNING OF 1977. IF THE FRG DECIDES TO PARTICIPATE IN AN AWACS PROGRAM, IT WOULD BE POOR TACTICS TO PRESENT THE NEW DEFENSE COMMITTEE OF THE BUNDESTAG WITH THIS EXPENSIVE

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NEW PROGRAM AS ONE OF ITS FIRST ITEMS OF BUSINESS.

11. AMBASSADOR STRAUZ-HUPE SAID THAT IN THE BEST OF ALL POSSIBLE WORLDS WE WOULD BE TALKING TO OUR ALLIES ABOUT NEW WEAPONS SYSTEMS RIGHT FROM THE VERY BEGINNING IF WE THOUGHT THESE ALLIES MIGHT BE INTERESTED IN THEM. IN THE REAL WORLD THIS WAS VERY DIFFICULT. DR. MANN AGREED, AND ADDED ON THE POSITIVE SIDE THAT THE FRG'S DISCUSSIONS WITH THE U.S. ON AWACS WERE CURRENTLY VERY GOOD. HE WAS PLEASED BY THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. CONFIDENTIAL

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MATION WITH DR. CURRIE AND BY THE HIGHLY SATISFACTORY TECHNICAL EXCHANGES WHICH HAD TAKEN PLACE.

12. DR. MANN DISCUSSED THE MOU ON THE TANK IN SOME DETAIL. DR. MANN NOTED THAT IN HIS VIEW THE MAIN GOAL WAS INTEROPERABILITY; THE SECOND PRIORITY WAS COST EFFECTIVENESS. ALL THREE PARTIES IN THE BUNDESTAG ACCEPTED THE MOU. LONG AGO, HE HIMSELF HAD BEGUN EXPLAINING TO HIS COUNTRYMEN THAT THERE WAS ALMOST NO CHANCE THAT THE U.S. WOULD SIMPLY BUY THE GERMAN TANK. HE HAD ALSO TAKEN THE POSITION THAT THERE WAS VERY LITTLE CHANCE THAT THE U.S. WOULD ATTEMPT TO GO IT ALONE. THE MOU SEEMED TO INDICATE THAT HE HAD BEEN RIGHT.

13. AMBASSADOR STRAUZ-HUPE ASKED ABOUT THE FRG'S TIME TABLE CONCERNING THE TANK. DR. MANN INDICATED THAT A COMMON DECISION WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN ON THE TANK GUN EARLY IN 1977. THIS WAS THE CARDINAL DECISION. THE TANK GUN MUST HAVE TWO CAPABILITIES: IT MUST BE ABLE TO HIT THE TARGET AND IT MUST EXIST RATHER THAN BE SIMPLY A PAPER PROJECT. AS FAR AS THE FRG WAS CONCERNED, THE GUN HAD TO BE 120MM. THE FRG HAS A SMOOTH BORE

120MM GUN BUT HAD MADE NO DECISION BETWEEN RIFLED AND SMOOTH BORE. THE FRG WAS PREPARED TO TAKE OVER THE U.S.-DESIGNED TURBINE ENGINE.

14. DR. MANN AND AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE DISCUSSED THE YOM-KIPPUR WAR AND THE LESSONS WHICH HAD BEEN LEARNED FROM IT. DR. MANN INDICATED THAT ONE CLEAR LESSON WAS THAT ARMOR COULD NOT BE USED ALONE BUT MUST BE COMBINED WITH OTHER ARMS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE ISRAELI EXPERIENCE COULD NOT BE TAKEN OVER COMPLETELY. ONE REASON WAS THE IMPORTANT DIFFERENCE IN THE KIND OF COUNTRYSIDE FOUGHT OVER DURING THE YOM-KIPPUR WAR AND THAT WHICH EXISTS IN WESTERN EUROPE.

15. THIS TELEGRAM WAS DRAFTED AFTER AMBASSADOR STRAUSZ-HUPE'S DEPARTURE FROM BONN.  
HILLENBRAND

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